

JPRS 74973

21 January 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1756

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 74973	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																			
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1756				5. Report Date 21 January 1980																			
7. Author(s)				6.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201				8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																			
10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.				11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above				13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
15. Supplementary Notes				14.																			
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																							
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic																							
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary																							
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland																							
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania																							
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																							
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms																							
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																							
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161				19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED																			
				20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED																			
				21. No. of Pages 56																			
				22. Price																			

21 January 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1756

CONTENTS	PAGE
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Briefs	
Bulgarian-Soviet Construction Cooperation	1
Bulgaria-USSR Transportation Cooperation	1
 BULGARIA	
Briefs	
MPLA Delegation Arrival	2
Bulgarian-Japanese Cooperation	2
Leaders at Celebration	2
Peko Takov at Celebration	3
Turkish Ambassador's Departure	3
Stoychev's Awards Presentations	3
Milko Balev in Plovdiv	3
New Oil Pipeline	3
Bulgarian-Vietnam Treaty Ratification	3
Shipbuilding in Bulgaria	3
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Increased Pressure Against Opposition in CSSR	
(Various sources, various dates).....	5
Pressure Against Catholics, by Jozef Nechlubyl	
Catholics Appeal to Pope	
Prague Preparing More Trials, by Rudolf Stroebinger	

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
West German Analysis: GDR College Enrollment Statistics (INFORMATIONEN, Dec 79).....	13
HUNGARY	
Hungary's Nationalities Policy Reviewed (Pal Vastagh; TISZATAJ, No 12, 1979).....	16
Questions on Party Organization, Procedures Answered (PARTELET, No 12, 1979).....	22
POLAND	
Szydlak Seen Maneuvering for Gierek Succession (Artur Kowalski; DZIENNIK POLSKI, 15 Dec 79).....	26
Swede Arrested for Smuggling Copier to KSS 'KOR' (DZIENNIK POLSKI, 9 Jan 80).....	30
Briefs Increased Gdynia Militia	31
ROMANIA	
Motives Behind Pirvulescu Attack at Congress Assessed (Various sources, various dates).....	32
Background Examined, by Carl-Gustaf Stroehm Soviet Question Raised, by Viktor Meier Party Career Traced	
YUGOSLAVIA	
West German Press Reports Church-State Disputes in Slovenia (Carl Gustaf Stroehm; DIE WELT, 3 Jan 80).....	40
Moslem Officials Resign, Commission Formed To Investigate 'PREPOROD' Staff (OSLOBODJENJE, 20 Dec 79).....	42

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Problems of Locating Management Personnel Aired (Svetislav Spasojevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 22 Jul 79).....	43
Historians, Sociologists Discuss Serbian Nationalism (Momcilo Stojanovic; VJESNIK, 17 Nov 79).....	50

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN-SOVIET CONSTRUCTION COOPERATION--The 6th session of the Bulgarian-Soviet permanent complex working group for economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the sphere of construction, architecture and in construction materials production has ended. The cooperation plan for 1980 as well as for 1981-1985 was coordinated. The plan provides for increasing the rate of industrialization in construction, for improving the material technical base and for perfecting certain decisions in the sphere signed by [word indistinct] of the Soviet Gosstroy, and Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and construction materials. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 79 AU]

BULGARIA-USSR TRANSPORTATION COOPERATION--Sofia, 19 Dec, BTA report--In 1980 transportation of goods on the Varna-Ilichevsk ferry link is expected to increase by 35 percent compared with this year. The growth is the best proof of the increasing efficiency of the line's work. The import-export list comprises soda [word indistinct], machines, timber, chemical products and some agricultural goods. Transportation planning regulations for the Varna-Ilichevsk ferry link and a coordination protocol on transport volume, signed tonight provide for the above increase. The two documents will form a good basis for stepping up the integration processes between Bulgaria and the USSR. They feature new transportation technologies and a new normative basis. Mr Vasil Tsanov, Bulgarian Minister of Transportation, was present at the signing of the document. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 19 Dec 79 AU]

CSO: 2200

BRIEFS

MPLA DELEGATION ARRIVAL--In implementing the cooperation agreement between the BCP and MPLA, an MPLA delegation arrived in our country yesterday. The delegation is headed by (Manuel Lopez Maria), first secretary of the Launda Provincial MPLA committee. At Sofia airport the delegation was welcomed by Nikolay Dyulgarov, secretary of the Sofia Okrug Party Committee. [Text] [AU281249 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Dec 79 p 6 AU]

BULGARIAN-JAPANESE COOPERATION--A protocol was signed in Sofia on 18 December 1979 between the Bulgarian "Mashinoeksport" foreign trade organization and the "Kobe Steel" and I. (Itokh) Corporations of Japan. The agreement was signed by Yordan Tenov, chairman of the Heavy Machine-building Investment Committee and by Stoyan Drundarov, general manager of the "Mashinoeksport" organization and by (Mamoro Ishihkhara) and (Ichio Tetsuya), general managers of the respective Japanese firms. The signing ceremony was attended by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Japanese Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Committee and by Ministers Tancho Chakurov and Khristo Khristov, as well as by Boris Manov, first secretary of the Pernik Okrug Party Committee and Rumen Serbezov, secretary of the Khaskovo Okrug Party Committee. (Khidaketa Mitshukhashi), counselor of the Japanese Embassy in Sofia was also among those present. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 79 AU]

LEADERS AT CELEBRATION--A celebration marking the holiday of the workers involved in trade, tourism, public services, local industry and in material-technical supply was held in Sofia tonight. Comrades Grisha Filipov, Peko Takov and Andrey Lukanov attended. (Ursinion Rojas), secretary general of the International Association of the Trade Unions of Food Industry Workers, was also present, Georgi Karamanev, minister of internal trade and public services, read a report. Peko Takov conveyed greetings and presented awards. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Dec 79 AU]

PEKO TAKOV AT CELEBRATION--On 23 December at Strupets Village Vratsa Okrug, Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, took part in a celebration marking the 90th birthday of Vek Staykov, a noted fighter against fascism and capitalism. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 79 AU]

TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Ecmel Barutcu, the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Bulgaria, has made his final departure from the country. [Text] [AU281218 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Dec 79 p 2 AU]

STOYCHEV'S AWARDS PRESENTATIONS--On 27 December Todor Stoychev, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member and first secretary of BCP Varna Okrug committee, awarded 68 secretaries of okrug's primary organizations with medals and orders on their selfless party-organizational work. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 27 Dec 79 AU]

MILKO BALEV IN PLOVDIV--On 27 December Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee secretary, took part in a festive meeting in Plovdiv marking the 70th birthday of Aleksandur Dimitrov, youth leader and partisan, killed in the struggle against fascism. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Dec 79 AU]

NEW OIL PIPELINE--The newly built oil pipeline linking the petrochemical combine in Burgas with the Druzhba oil port has been commissioned. The first quantities of products ready for exporting have also been transported through this line. The commissioning of new oil pipeline will increase the effectiveness in transporting the products from the combine. [AU292207 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 28 Dec 79 AU]

BULGARIAN-VIETNAM TREATY RATIFICATION--The ratification documents of the friendship and cooperation treaty between Bulgaria and Vietnam signed by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, and Le Duan, secretary general of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, in Hanoi on 1 October 1979 were exchanged at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday. Thus the treaty has entered into force. The protocol on the ratification documents were signed by Marin Yotov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Le Quang Hiep, Vietnamese ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Dec 79 AU]

SHIPBUILDING IN BULGARIA--Sofia, 28 Dec (BTA)--Designs of a 3,000-ton bunker ship were completed at the shipbuilding institute in Varna. Ruse Shipyard will mass-produce these vessels for the USSR. An improved version of a 5,000-ton tanker for combined river-sea navigation was constructed again for the USSR, as well as a fully automated container-carrier. The latter will carry 400 containers on board. The institute works now on the modifications of 38,000-ton ships for Poland and 25,000-ton ships for the USSR. Among the new developments are a 15,000-ton

all-purpose ship and 25,000-ton food and provisions carrier. The new ships are equipped mainly with Bulgarian-made machines and installations. The proportion of Bulgarian-made equipment for shipbuilding industry is expected to grow from 15 percent in 1970 to 63 percent by the end of the current five-year period. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0800 GMT 28 Dec 79 AU]

CSO: 2200

INCREASED PRESSURE AGAINST OPPOSITION IN CSSR

Pressure Against Catholics

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 2 Nov 79 p 24

[Article by Jozef Nechluby: "Impeded Coresponsibility; the Catholics--Activists and Silent Sympathizers--Have Come to Life"]

[Text] The most recent news concerning domestic political events in Czechoslovakia links police actions against the "Chartists"--the signers of Charter '77--and arrests of Catholic priests and committed Catholic laypersons. The fact is that the Charter '77 also met with approval among Catholic clergymen, and still does so, but they refrained from signing it out of consideration for the consequences of such action for the congregations which they serve.

The Charter also necessarily met with approval among the many Christians who had often suffered, themselves, from the suppression of ecclesiastical and religious life and discrimination against religious convictions without being able to defend themselves against such injustice. Thus, what amounted to an unspoken alliance between Chartists and numerous small groups of devout Christians came into being, even though the latter, while applauding the specific demands of the Chartists, did not always approve of their tactical procedures, but nevertheless agreed with them with respect to the basic principles expressed in a demand for the recognition of human rights and basic human freedoms.

However, a distinction must be made between the procedures which were carried out against the Chartists and the police actions against priests and Catholic laymen. In the case of the procedures against the Chartists it seems to have been a question of finding incriminating material involving the group to which the last 10 persons arrested belonged, so that proof of illegal action by them could be presented at the coming trial. The reaction to this latest wave of arrests in many countries, the demand that a foreign defense attorney be authorized, and also the press campaign--all this made the people holding power in Prague nervous, and that is the reason for the hectic search for "proof."

Quite different stimuli seem to have triggered the police actions against priests and laymen on 10 September 1979 and thereafter. This time, even approval of the public prosecutor of the republic existed. The observation of the State Police that--as had happened earlier in Slovakia--rather small, but very active, groups had formed among the faithful which, although they did not separate themselves from their church congregations and their hierarchical authorities, were determined to lead a life of their own to some extent, may have played a decisive role. They felt obliged to do this because, as a result of the restrictive measures taken against any expressions of ecclesiastical or religious life which go beyond the mere forms ordinarily observed by religious cults, it is made impossible for them to discuss questions and problems which arise in the course of their lives from the point of view of their Christian beliefs and to find and form religious associations.

This move into an underground way of living is the result of the throttling of church activities. The State Police and the Church Secretary are afraid of this daring enterprise and are attempting to nip in the bud the formation of a lay movement, even if it is only an informal one, in the shape of a silent Catholic program of action in Bohemia and Moravia, too, as in Slovakia.

These "basis" groups of what is incorrectly called an "underground church" had to arouse the interest of the State Police, which wants to get to the root of this development and find the central figures. But they also want to link the search for secretly ordained priests with that effort, for the fact that such priests exist and that, in addition to the bishops who were secretly ordained in the 1950's and were eliminated by the police long ago, other secret bishops are still living in the country and must be working actively could not be concealed. The fact that there are even members of religious orders among the secretly ordained priests must be even more upsetting for the police and the Church Secretary. Clergymen who provide the spiritual tools for these groups--that is, theological and religious works which, copied or duplicated, go from hand to hand--were the targets of the interrogations, arrests and house searches carried out in September. Here, too, it is quite clear that the only reason why these "Samizdat" publications exist is the fact that it is impossible to obtain real theological and religious works.

The well-appointed Postconsiliary Library in the Archbishop's Palace in Prague can only serve clergymen as a library for study. For the most part, what the so-called ecclesiastical publishing house in the Czech Caritas organization puts out is not of good quality and is insufficient. It is better not even to mention the low-standard contents of the Prague KATHOLISCHE ZEITUNG.

Observers of the frame of mind of the Catholics in the CSSR are unanimously of the opinion that the faithful of that country look to Slavic pope with great confidence and high expectations. Just as striking is a determination not to submit any longer to the arbitrary actions of the Church secretary without opposition, which has become more and more evident among

them during the last 2 years. Thus, initial instances of the assertion of this determination can be pointed to in Bohemia and Moravia in 1977--this development could be observed in Slovakia earlier.

In Slovakia, it was the program of leaflets which proclaimed "You must say 'yes' or 'no' plainly," and which was never "cleared up" by the authorities. Its origin was connected with the Charter '77. The campaign in the broadcasting and press media and at plant meetings, which was exaggerated beyond all bounds and then was suddenly suspended all over the country, caused one of the best Catholic theologians in Prague, Dr Josef Zverina, to raise his voice against the devilish uproar that was being made in (never published) letters to the editor of the party paper RUDE PRAVO, the paper of the People's Party, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, and the Catholic newspaper in Prague.

Cannot Emigrate

Then there are two letters which do not refer directly to the Charter and which (on the basis of the ratification of the two international agreements on economic, social, political and cultural rights which took place in Prague) are dedicated exclusively to the situation of the harassed Christian citizens and expose the lack of religious freedom to public view very openly. They state that they do not demand any privileges but that they will resist any effort to cover up the true status of developments in the area of religious policy.

Just as explicitly, they declare themselves to be "ready for an important duty of Christians: to accept coresponsibility completely for the world in which we live." But they also realize that they are obligated to protest against all kinds of injustice and to demand that those holding responsibility in the government obey the laws of the land and observe international agreements unconditionally and without exception. Specifically, they demand the immediate release of those who have been imprisoned unjustly. This letter was sent to President Husak and the Federal Parliament by 54 Catholics on 1 October 1977.

A second letter, dated 28 October 1977, was directed to Husak and the Presidium of the Federal Parliament. It bears the title "Suggestions by Catholics on How To Regularize the Status of Christian Citizens of the CSSR." The final act of Helsinki and the two international agreements on the rights of citizens also provide the individuals who signed this second letter with grounds for demanding "their religious freedoms and rights," and especially "freedom of thought and freedom of conscience...respect for religion and for the dignity of Christian citizens." In that connection, they plead "the important part they have played in building up our common homeland"; they do not deserve "to be regarded as secondclass citizens."

The demands of this group are specific: "that religious freedoms...be expanded, but not limited in practice to mere participation in religious ceremonies and rituals;...that the parents' right to give their children religious training and instruction be respected;...that a stop be put to

the applying of pressure to theological schools and their professors and students;...and that decisions by young Christians to enter religious communions be respected." They expressly state that they oppose the determination of religious obligations by governmental bodies.

Furthermore, they demand that Christian citizens be given the opportunity to participate fully in cultural life. They state downrightly: "We cannot emigrate in any way from the society in which we are living. In that society, there are many areas in which we have a special mission as Christian people." And they state that those areas are the following: efforts concerned with the stability of families, the struggle against abortion, the moral training of the young and service to the old and the sick--to our physically and psychologically endangered fellow human beings.

A group of Catholics in Kremsier (Kromeriz) did not put together a letter of protest, but rather what should probably be called "suggestions," instead, in a petition it sent to Cardinal Tomasek in Prague, in December 1977, with the request that they be discussed in a conference between the (two) bishops and the curates of chapters and then sent on to the government bodies as "demands of our members." That group, too, takes the new situation with regard to human rights as its point of departure and then depicts the status of religious freedom in Czechoslovakia.

It points out that the right of parents to give their children religious training is purely formal and does not actually exist, that admission to a seminary to be trained as a priest is limited unbearably and that, because the selection of professors and students is performed by governmental bodies, the level of the individuals engaged in teaching and studying theology is sinking lower and lower. It complains that any mention of things having a religious content is expurgated from the mass communications media.

Rigorous Muzzling

In their suggestions for redressing these grievances, the signers of the petition make 14 demands which are based on quite concretely fundamental impediments to the life of the church and to the religious life of the faithful and express in detail what Catholic citizens regard as conditions for the existence of genuine religious liberty for themselves and their ecclesiastical community which must be satisfied. Their hope for understanding was not fulfilled. Actions by the police--imprisonment for one of the initiators and psychiatric treatment for another--were the answer they received. In a written statement which was under the consideration of the court of appeals in Brno on 3 January 1979, the cardinal in Prague confiscated the contents of the petition, which was made an incriminating document. The administrator of the bishopric of Olomouc, to whom the petition was also delivered, sent it back without a word of response. This, too, was an eloquent statement of the attitude of the church of the CSSR.

A "working paper" with the title "Freedom for the Religious Citizen" is of another type. It approaches legislation regarding policy toward the church, and the actions based on that legislation, more systematically and more

searchingly. This "working paper" could almost be called a "practical political paper" in the sense that it presses for clarification, exact definition and legal expansion of the existing regulations in the field of policy toward the church, and also presents arguments for such actions.

In order to evaluate this phenomenon of resistance in Czech Catholicism properly, one cannot inquire primarily regarding the actual success which has been achieved by all these undertakings. The most striking element of these actions, and the one which points to the future the most, is to be found in the fact that a small number of actively involved Czechoslovak Catholics--but a much larger number of silently sympathetic Catholics and secret supporters--have come to life, are standing up publicly for their religious convictions and are courageously pleading for their demands in regard to the church and religion vis-a-vis the governmental authorities.

Such a movement, although not under such severe conditions, has only been observable one other time during the past 250 years, and that was when Czechoslovak Catholicism had to defend its existence against the new Czechoslovak Church, which now calls itself the Hussite Church, after 1918. In particular, how the members of the Union of the Brethren, which goes back to J. A. Comenius, remained faithful to its religious convictions in spite of all hardships and persecution and maintained the existence of its communion through many tribulations is well known.

In the Catholic area, such an image of courage, loyalty and combativeness only existed, in a reduced form, after 1918. Hence, the strengthened loyalty to their faith of the Czechoslovak Catholics, which is inclined toward militancy as it is expressed in the actions which have been mentioned, can only cause surprise. For too long the Catholic Church in that area lived under the wings of the state which favored it. The hardships of the first part of the 1920's probably deprived it of a million members, but nevertheless it was free in its activities at that time.

Furthermore, it was not encumbered by legalistic measures at that time in the same way as it is today; however, it also had the protection of a law at that time which also benefited the Catholics to a great extent, even though anti-Catholic propaganda was supported in many parts of the governmental administration and by powerful social groups.

Today, the situation of all church members and the congregations to which they belong is materially different. Now what is going on is a fundamental, total and systematic extirpation of all religious thought, but yet in that overwhelming situation religious people--laypersons and priests--are raising their voices as if in the mood produced by an uprising connected with the church and religion.

After the terrible persecutions during the 1950's, against the background of a forced atheization carried out with all available means and in spite of a rigorous muzzling of religious life, it could not have been expected.

In this development, there is only one element which can be described as a total failure, and that is the small group of men who are the leaders of the "Pacem in terris" association of priests.

Catholics Appeal to Pope

Bonn DIE WELT in German 15 Nov 79 p 8

[Text] SAD, London--More than 20 Czechoslovak priests and about 350 laypersons have sent an appeal to Pope John Paul II in which they accuse the leadership of the Catholic clergy of their country of loyalty to the regime's political line and the authorities of "a growing wave of police reprisals." The text of the letter, which is being distributed secretly and is still gaining additional signatures, has now become known in England.

It is said, in the appeal, "We turn to you in sorrow, Holy Father. Our own Church leaders do not pay any attention to what we say. The leadership of the Catholic clergy, which claims to speak in the name of the Catholics, actually only helps the state to carry out its plans to throttle religious life in our country."

As an example of the reprisals, it is stated that the authorities at present are preparing to put 11 Catholics on trial. Furthermore, the appeal says: "A number of Christians, including priests, have been searched, and as a result religious works were confiscated, among which were your Encyclica, a biography of you and pictures of you on which our prayers for you had been written. Interrogations and imprisonments followed. Eight people are already under arrest pending investigation."

The signers of the appeal point out that the constitution of the CSSR guarantees freedom of religion.

Prague Preparing More Trials

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 9 Nov 79 p 5

[Article by Rudolf Stroebinger: "'Break Its Neck'; Prague Is Preparing More Trials"]

[Text] The indignant reaction was worldwide. Pope John Paul II declared that the developments in Czechoslovakia, "which is especially close to his heart," had dismayed him. The countries of the European Community also showed, in a statement published in Dublin, that they were disturbed at the sentencing of the six people who had signed the Charter 77. In the opinion of the British communists, the continuing attempts by the Czechoslovak authorities to react to political criticism with police, courts and prisons ran counter to the basic principles of socialist democracy. The communists of Italy, France and Spain reacted similarly. Protests rang out in Washington and Stockholm, Amsterdam and Bonn. The universal tenor of those protests was to the effect that detente in Europe is being upset and the final act of Helsinki is being violated.

Stormy Meeting

In spite of the worldwide protests against the verdicts in Prague, however, two more court proceedings against signers of and sympathizers with the Charter 77 civil rights movement are to take place before November is over. That decision was made after a stormy discussion in the Presidium of the Communist Party in Prague. At that meeting, the dogmatic wing of the Czechoslovak communists, under the chief ideologist, Vasil Bilak, supported the view that giving in to the protest movement would only strengthen the Czechoslovak civil rightists. It would be better to put up with more Western protests. But the neck of the civil rights movement must be broken.

The trial of five signers of the Charter 77 who have already been arrested is to be begun by the municipal court in Prague as early as the first half of November. The proceedings concerning them were separated from the trial, which was only recently concluded. The principal defendants are the sociologist and former member of the Czech Chamber of Nations Rudolf Battek, one of the leading personalities in the "Independent Socialists" group, the Catholic philosopher Dr Jan Nemec, whose wife was sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment, but placed on probation, a few days ago, and the young Catholic clergyman Vaclav Maly. The indictment has already been prepared and will be turned over to the defender assigned to the defendants during the next few days.

The second trial is apparently to begin in Brno, the capital of Moravia, a few days later. The defendants are four Catholic clergymen, including the Jesuit Father Frantisek Lizna, who was imprisoned twice during the 1960's, and six Catholic laypersons. The public prosecutor accuses the defendants of "antisocialist practices" because they allegedly distributed religious works "illegally" and said masses without permission from the government. In this connection, it is stressed in Prague that the State Security Service wants to completely muzzle the Christian opposition, which is growing stronger and stronger, with this campaign. In this effort, the regime is not concerned with Catholic groups. Three young Protestant pastors have also been imprisoned in Prague.

The "hawks" in Prague want to utterly smash the civil rights movement. The arrest of a number of young peripheral activists like Jan and Jiri Bednar, the sons of the television journalist Otka Bednarova, who was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment with five members of the Charter 77 movement on 23 October, confirms this, too.

Fear of Misery

In connection with the most recent arrests, the justification offered by the State Security Service is also worthy of note. On the basis of an anonymous letter in which information was given that an attack would be made on Husak, the head of the government and of the Communist Party, they got on the trail of the arrested persons. Thus, they "struck" with lightning speed and succeeded in preventing the attack in plenty of time. According

to the remarkable logic of the State Security Service, then, those involved in the plot notified their intended victim of the action they planned to take. That really could only happen in the minds of the apparently completely insecure officials of the State Security Service! However, the motives which caused the head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to intensify the persecution of the civil rightists are more important than the pretexts which are alleged. On the one hand, there is the knowledge--which must be disturbing--that the number of civil rightists is continuously increasing in spite of the reprisals. On the other hand, the people holding the power in Prague know that during the coming winter months they will be faced with difficult economic problems. The misery will get worse. The population, which is already embittered now, is to be warned against an outbreak of dissatisfaction, for there is nothing which the Czechoslovakian communists need less right now than a storm of protests against the representatives of Moscow who are ruling on the Hradcin.

9258

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN ANALYSIS: GDR COLLEGE ENROLLMENT STATISTICS

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 19, Dec 79 pp 8-10

[Background Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "College and Technical School Students in the GDR"]

[Text] As compared with the school year 1977/78, the number of college students in the GDR decreased slightly in the school year 1978/79. The decrease was larger in the case of students who have been continuing their education by correspondence. The percentage of female students has remained unchanged in the 2 years at 47.5 percent. During the same period, the number of technical school students has increased slightly, and the percentage of women stands at 70.5 percent. These figures are contained in the GDR "Statistical Yearbook, 1979."

Accordingly, the number of students on the GDR's 53 universities and colleges included in the statistics was

School year 1977/78: 129,615 students

School year 1978/79: 127,473 students

This means a decrease by 2,142 students (1.6 percent). The negative growth of the number of college students in the GDR has thereby continued.

As can be seen from the tabulation below, the number of students has dropped since the school year 1972/73 by a total of 33,494, or by almost 21 percent:

School year 1972/73:	160,967 students;
School year 1973/74:	153,558 students;
School year 1974/75:	144,606 students;
School year 1975/76:	136,854 students;
School year 1976/77:	130,201 students;
School year 1977/78:	129,615 students;
School year 1978/79:	127,473 students;

As to the statistical information above, a few special calculating procedures customary in the GDR should be noted:

-- The information refers to only 53 universities and colleges while the most recent list of institutions of higher learning (1 February 1979) include 68 colleges and universities. There is no information as to which 15 institutions of higher learning are not included in the statistics. Since no other figures are released on the institutions of higher learning which are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry for National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, it can be assumed that students in these institutions are not taken into consideration in the statistics.

-- The number of foreigners studying in the GDR is not included in the statistics.

-- Also not taken into consideration in the statistics are students in research studies. This refers to students who immediately after or in connection with their studies are preparing themselves for graduation A.

-- Since 1975, those students have been included in statistics on higher education who are going through study programs in "socialist countries abroad" leading to a college degree (1978/79: 3,900). Not counted in the statistics, on the other hand, are students abroad engaged in study programs which do not lead to a college degree (apprenticeships, part-time studies, postgraduate studies).

In the past 2 school years, the proportion of students in the three most important study forms (regular program of studies, study by correspondence, evening studies) has changed as follows:

	School year 1977/78:	School year 1978/79
Regular program of studies	104,037=86.5 percent	103,579=87.6 percent
Study by correspondence	16,052=13.4 percent	14,553=12.3 percent
Evening studies	165= 0.1 percent	165= 0.1 percent
		<u>118,297=100 percent</u>

Thus, the part of students who continue their studies by correspondence--in 1971 still one-fourth of all students--has decreased further in favor of regular study programs. Evening studies have become practically insignificant.

Comparing the total number of all students in the school year 1978/79 (127,473) with the number of students in the three most important study forms (118,297) shows a difference of 9,176. This figure is accounted for by students who study in other study forms (postgraduate studies or special studies).

The share of female students has not changed as compared with the preceding year and amounts to 47.5 percent of the total student body (in the case of regular students, the percentage is 51.8 percent, in the case of correspondence students 25.8 percent, and in the case of evening students 25 percent.)

In the school year 1971/72, the share of female students amounted to 37 percent, then rose continuously to 48.2 percent in the school year 1975/76, and has fixed itself at 47.5 percent in the last 2 school years.

The Decline of Study by Correspondence

As already in preceding years, the further decline in the number of college students in the GDR has so far not been reported or commented on in GDR media or in professional periodicals. In an article in the periodical DAS HOCHSCHULWESEN a position was taken merely on the partial area of study by correspondence. Therein, Deputy Minister for College and Technical Education Peter Fiedler together with a co-worker, reached the conclusion that the following reasons account for the absolute and relative decline in the number of correspondence students:

- Satiation of pent-up demand in the "qualification for cadres employed in leading functions," which means that for those who cannot enroll as regular students, qualifying for leading positions by correspondence study has been largely terminated;
- Growing exhaustion of relevant age groups via regular programs of study;
- Diminishing interest of enterprises in relegation of students to correspondence studies;
- Inadequate attractiveness of correspondence studies: many skilled workers earn almost as much as college graduates and therefore shy away from the personal and family burden imposed by correspondence studies.

From this article can be learned that the number of admission to correspondence study is to be increased to 5,000 annually; in the years 1976 to 1978, the number averaged about 3,500.

Increase in Number of Technical School Students

As compared with the school year 1977/78, the number of technical school students in the GDR increased slightly in the school year 1978/79 and amounted to 164,632 students (1977/78: 162,460). The percentages for the three most important study forms were: regular programs of study 61 percent; study by correspondence 32 percent; evening studies 7 percent.

The number of technical school students in the GDR stood at its highest level in the school year 1971/72 with 178,883 students, dropped in the following years to 154,528 (1974/75), and has since then risen again continuously. The share of female students in technical schools stood in the last school year at 70.5 percent.

9001
CSO: 2300

HUNGARY'S NATIONALITIES POLICY REVIEWED

Szeged TISZATAJ in Hungarian No 12, 1979 pp 55-58

[Article by Pal Vastagh: "Nationality Rights in Our Country"]

[Excerpt] In October, 1958 the Political Committee of the MSZMP Central Committee defined some of the fundamental principles and practical guidelines of the party's policy on nationalities. The resolution directed all party organizations to work toward the application of Marxism-Leninism in nationalities policy. The implementation of the resolution paved the way for the political activity of the associations of nationalities carried out within the framework of the Patriotic People's Front. The Political Committee called the attention of the Ministry of Education to the importance of satisfying educational needs in the nationalities' native languages. It called for the posting of bilingual signs and advertisements in communities where the majority of the population belongs to a nationality. The leading organ of the party also took a stand on the issue of nationality cadres, with special attention paid to insure the representation of nationalities in legislative and executive organs. The position of the Political Committee was instrumental in promoting the solution of the problems that had accumulated in the nationalities area and it also had a stimulating effect on the development of scientific inquiries related to the nationalities. This document was reaffirmed by a number of subsequent party resolutions.

The end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's marked the beginning of a dynamic phase in the development of the socialist legal system. There was an expansion of legislative activity, resulting in the overall regulation of extensive spheres of social relationships. Law No 4 of 1957 (the law on administrative procedure) was the first one to introduce new principles relative to the existing body of law. The use of native languages was regulated in administrative procedures in a manner similar to the law on criminal and civil procedures. It was decreed that the failure to speak Hungarian cannot prejudice anyone's case in an administrative procedure. Anyone is entitled to use his or her native tongue during the proceedings, both orally and in writing. The same legal guarantees are provided in criminal procedure by Law Decree No 8 of 1967 and Law No 1 of 1973, and in

civil procedure by Law Decree No 26 of 1975. The use of one's own native tongue in administrative procedure has a great deal of practical importance for nationalities, since the most common form of encounter between a citizen and the state is administrative procedure.

Law No 4 of 1972 (on courts) declared that the use of one's native tongue was one of the important principles of the administration of justice. Article 7 states that the language of court proceedings is Hungarian. However, failure to speak Hungarian cannot be prejudicial to anyone's case: everyone has the right to use his or her native language during the proceedings. Socialist legislation provides equal rights for nationalities in the area of employment. Based on the fundamental provisions of the constitution, the Law on Labor (Law No 2 of 1967) in its Article 18 defines the rights and obligations arising from employment and entering into an employment relationship. The article prohibits discrimination among workers based on their age, sex, nationality, race or ancestry. Similar provisions are contained in Law No 3 of 1971 (Law on Cooperatives). Law No 4 of 1959 contained in the Civil Code and its chapter on inheritance are also aimed at equal rights. It says that a written private will is valid only if it was written in a language understood by the person making the will and one that he can read and write. Our Criminal Code (Law No 5 of 1961) has many legal provisions for the protection of nationalities. Among the personal rights is the right to bear one's name. This is especially important from the standpoint of the rights of nationalities because they have a special emotional attachment to names which differ from those of the majority. Cabinet Decree No 38 of 1963 (25 December) on birth and marriage registers and the regulations issued for its implementation (6/1963 KE, TK.82) provide the right for our nationalities whereby the first name of a child of a Hungarian citizen belonging to a foreign nationality or speaking a foreign language may be entered in the birth register using the native tongue of the parent.

The social changes occurring in our country made it necessary to modify our socialist constitution adopted in 1949. The purpose of the constitutional reform was to ensure that our fundamental law provides a better reflection of our achievements and more advanced social conditions. In the process of modifying our constitution, our People's Republic further expanded the scope of the rights enjoyed by nationalities living within the boundaries of our country.

These rights were defined by Article 61 of the constitution (Law No 1 of 1972 on modifications of Law No 20 of 1949 and the uniform text of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic).

"(1) All citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic are equal before the law and enjoy equal rights.

(2) Discrimination among citizens on the basis of sex, religion or nationality is severely punishable by law.

(3) Every nationality living within the Hungarian People's Republic is entitled to equal rights, the use of their native tongue, education in their native language, the preservation and cultivation of their native culture."

A comparison between the contents of the earlier article and the legal provisions following the modifications reveals that our state defined the scope of the rights enjoyed by nationalities to extend over a much larger area than before. The constitution of 1949 merely provided for the legal equality of citizens in general. The 1972 modifications included special provisions asserting the equal rights of nationalities. It is especially important to note that our constitution provides full equality for every nationality living in our country. Among the real preconditions for equality, our constitution provides for the general use of the native languages of nationalities. This is another new and important result of our constitutional development relative to the regulations of 1949. The use of native languages in education was also defined. We find substantial changes relative to earlier regulations in the last phrase of Section (3), Article 61. In 1949, our constitution mentioned the opportunities for cultivation of the culture of nationalities. The legal text adopted in the course of constitutional modifications provides for the preservation and cultivation of the culture of nationalities. This implies that the state also carries a responsibility for the preservation and cultivation of the culture of nationalities; it is not sufficient merely to provide an opportunity to do this. The modification of the constitution clearly reflected the consistently internationalist policies of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Our regulations concerning public education established the basic institutions of native language education on every level. Based on this, in accordance with local conditions and the needs of parents belonging to nationalities, educational institutions for nationalities may operate as follows:

--According to Decree No 159/1969 of the Ministry of Education (M.K. 15), nursery schools may use or teach the language of nationalities. Both of these may apply to some or all groups of the nursery school.

--Decree No 163/1969 of the Ministry of Education (M.K. 16) provided detailed regulations concerning the arrangements that may be established in the elementary school system. Elementary schools teaching in the language of nationalities may function as independent organizational entities or as elementary schools with a nationality section (where groups of nationality students function as a section of an elementary school in which teaching is done in Hungarian). In elementary education, students may study their native tongue as a required elective subject.

--In secondary education (Law Decree 25 of 1965) it is possible to establish high schools or technical secondary schools where teaching is done in the language of nationalities. These may function as independent organizational entities or as high schools or secondary technical schools with a nationality section.

There are highly important legal provisions regulating the establishment or termination of educational institutions for nationalities. It is important to note that in all cases it is necessary to obtain the approval or preliminary assent of elected bodies. A highly important guarantee is that the establishment and termination of such institutions is under the jurisdiction of local councils and their executive committees. These provisions have also regulated very carefully the preparation of the registration of pupils belonging to nationalities. The school principals are required to inform parents of the general and local opportunities for nationality education. Parents arrive at an individual decision in every case, based on encouraging information. It is illegal to ask for any kind of signature or statement. Decree No 132/1975 (M.L. 24) of the Ministry of Education regulated maximum class sizes for nationality groups. The regulations called special attention to the need for the scheduling of nationality classes in a way that is optimal from an educational standpoint. Educational authorities paid special attention to ensuring the personnel conditions and continuity of nationality education. One important principle of cadre policy is that the principal of an educational or cultural institution must be an educator who belongs to the nationality in question, has a degree in the language of the nationality or speaks the language well. Applicants belonging to the nationality are also given an advantage in the choice of deputy principals. Employees holding the job of principal, deputy principal or nationality teacher are paid a nationality supplement based on a joint decree by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labor (210/1971, M.K. 13). There exist provisions for systematic special and differentiated continuing education.

It is also very important to provide the material conditions for nationality education and to develop supplies. In planning for budgets and purchases, the principals of institutions must make special provisions for items needed for special material and equipment (Nationality publications on methods and techniques, journals, nationality volumes for youth libraries, visual aids needed for language classes, etc.).

Aside from education, our legislation took special nationality interests into account in other areas of social activities. Regulations encompass such basic spheres of cultural life as libraries. Libraries in nationality areas play a fundamental role in the cultivation of nationality language and culture. Law Decree No 15 of 1976, concerning libraries, defined the general tasks of libraries. "The task of libraries is...to preserve and make available those library materials which are important from the standpoint of universal, national and nationality culture as well as scientific inquiries." Thus, the law decree included the elements of nationality culture among cultural values requiring preservation in general. The decree assigned the task of supporting public libraries to local councils. Within this framework, local councils must provide for book supplies to the nationality population. This was regulated in more detail by Decree No 17/1976 (7 June) issued to implement the law decree. Article 17 of the decree states that the

composition of the population as to employment, education, age and native language must be taken into account in the establishment of public libraries. The Ministry of Culture will assign nationality libraries for literary supplies of nationality populations (implementing decree, Article 26).

Law No 5 of 1976, on public education, contains wide-ranging provisions regarding the rights of nationalities. Among others, it defined the tasks of the state with regard to the education of nationalities. "Article 9. The state provides educational opportunities for Hungarian citizens belonging to nationalities by supporting the free cultivation, in their native language, of their nationality culture. The state encourages the contribution of nationalities, through public educational activities, to the strengthening of relations between our nation and our neighboring countries." The adoption and implementation of the law on public education will hopefully create further opportunities for the flowering of the culture of nationalities.

Institutions dealing with nationality affairs have always played an important role in the life of our nationalities. Basically, these fall in two groups. One includes the social organizations of nationality workers; the other consists of institutions within the system of state organizations. In the Hungarian People's Republic each significant nationality has its own independent social organization. At present we are witnessing the emergence of an increasingly effective system of institutions within state organizations, especially in education and culture, with the aim of securing the rights of nationalities.

In conclusion, we must note that this study could not survey the entire body of law, principally because of its widely scattered character and limitations of space. The chief goal was to give an idea of the main trends in the development of the rights of nationalities since the liberation. This work also provided some lessons of a more general character:

The nationality question is a complex social problem. Therefore, its study and research must also reflect complex considerations. Traditional approaches must be complemented with directions of research relying on political, legal and sociological analysis.

It is desirable to survey, from time to time, the existing body of law regarding nationalities. This may lead to conclusions with scientific implications; also, this may reduce the uncertainty in the knowledge and application of legal provisions.

One of the important indicators of the social effectiveness of legal provisions is supplied by the analysis of legal practice. We must answer the following questions: how are the rules of nationality law implemented in the everyday practice of state organizations; what is the level acquaintance with the law on the part of nationality citizens; how much do they

know about the contents of legal provisions concerning them and how do they use the special rights they have. These questions can only be answered on the basis of factual investigations based on legal and sociological methods.

A thorough analysis of social and legal facts thus revealed may serve as the basis for formulating new legislative proposals.

9164

CS0: 2500

QUESTIONS ON PARTY ORGANIZATION, PROCEDURES ANSWERED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1979 pp 40-42

[Questions to the Editor answered by PARTELET Editorial Board "Answers to Several Organizational and Administrative Questions]

[Text] Several questions came up in the party organs concerning meetings whose agenda are reporting or the election of officers: their organization and operational methods need clarification. Some of the questions which have been broached by many members will be answered here.

[Question] The party by-laws specify that the candidate for party organ secretary or chapter member election, must be a party member for at least three years. Does this also refer to officers of the base organizations?

[Answer] No, it does not. Party organs are those elected bodies that direct base organizations (party officers, party committees). The officers of a base organization are not regarded as party organs and do not need to have been party members for three years.

The party regulations allow exceptions in the case of the secretary of a base organization and members of party organs when the appropriate party committee approves. The permission must come from the party committee; the party leadership can not give permission. Appropriate party committee means the party committee that is directly responsible. If, the matter concerns a member of the district party committee, the Megye party committee's permission is required. If the membership meeting or the delegate conference judges during the election that it is justified to depart from the 3-year party membership requirement and make an exception then the election may take place but the party committee's permission and approval must be asked after the election. In other words, this requirement of the organization's rules must be satisfied in this particular manner.

[Question] Does an election have to be held where there has recently been an officer election meeting, or a party representative meeting?

[Answer] Yes. Elections must be held everywhere at the specified time.

[Question] Who ratifies the minutes of the membership meeting or the party conference?

[Answer] The minutes are to be signed by the president of the membership meeting or the party conference and the secretary. Hence, special ratifiers of minutes need not be elected.

[Question] If the nominating committee does not recommend the re-election of the present officer or party committee members, is it necessary to talk to them about it and if so, when?

[Answer] After the membership meeting or the party conference considered the proposal of the nominating committee and the election has taken place it is absolutely necessary to talk to the members who were not re-elected. The secretary of the party leadership or, if the direct leadership is vested in a committee, one of the members who is delegated for this function (the instructor) should talk to the people left out of the leadership of the base organization. Previous, but not re-elected members of the party committee should be talked to by the secretary of the newly-elected party committee.

[Question] Can the members of the higher party organs be elected to a lower party organ?

[Answer] Yes. When the Central Committee resolved to call a Congress, every elected party functionary's mandate expired. This will take place in practice with the elections. This is why members of a higher party organ can be elected in a lower party organ. If this is in the proposal of the nominating committee, it is prudent to discuss this with the nominees before hand.

[Question] When should the party conference be held in places where the party committee ceases to function and is replaced by party office-holders?

[Answer] The party conference should be held in the time period assigned for combined membership meetings.

[Question] Do combined membership meetings have to be held in places where a party committee is elected instead of party officers?

[Answer] No. The delegates elected at membership meetings shall hold a party conference at the appropriate time. On that occasion, the secretary of the party leadership will report on the current work.

[Question] Who participates at the party conference?

[Answer] The participants of the party conference are the elected delegates, the members of the party committee, and the invited guests. The members of the party committee - even if they are not elected to be delegates - shall

participate at the party conference with rights that are equal to those of the elected delegates. They, too, have to be issued a delegate identification. The delegates of the party conference include the party committee members. The guests participate only at the delegate conference during the discussion of the first point of the agenda. Non-party members may also be invited, thus, the leaders of the KISZ, unions, or other social organizations and movements and economic, office, or institution managers (as long as they are heads of the given area) can come.

[Question] What is the procedure when two or more base organizations merge?

[Answer] The base organizations should hold separate reporting membership meetings on the work that was carried out since the XI. Congress and should use this meeting to announce the resolution of the merging of the base organizations. After the report discussions the merged base organizations should continue the membership meeting together. At this point they should elect the officers of the leadership-election meeting and charge the still-functioning office-holders with the preparation of the plan for resolutions which shall be based on the reports, organization of the debate over the guidelines to the congress, summing the discussions and motions, and preparation of the opening discussion for the membership meeting.

[Question] What is to be done when a base organization splits into two or more base organizations?

[Answer] Within the existing framework - they should hold the membership meeting together to announce the resolution to separate from the base organization. The party membership will then, in accord with the new base organization structures, elect the officers at the election meeting. The old leaders function until the next membership meeting. The election meetings are separately prepared by the elected officers. They prepare for the discussion of the congress guidelines, sum the observations and motions, and prepare the speech that starts the debate - which will be given by the president of the membership meeting. Then the newly-elected leaders prepare the plan for the local political tasks in the coming year. This will be presented for discussion and acceptance at the next membership meeting in February or March.

[Question] What is the procedure when the party leadership ceases and the base organizations, directed by it, are merged?

[Answer] The base organizations should hold the reporting membership meeting separately and discuss the leadership's report on the work carried out since the XI. Congress. For every affected base organization, this meeting is the proper forum for the announcement of the ending of the party leadership and the merging of the base organizations. At the combined membership meeting the party leadership is to report on the work done since the XI. Congress. At this meeting the officers of the new base organization are chosen to carry out the election meeting which is then to be run according to the Guide.

[Question] Can the report and the resolution proposal of the base organization be released in writing?

[Answer] It is not appropriate to release the report ahead of time. The resolution proposal can be released ahead of time if there is a possibility for this and can be discussed at party group conferences.

[Question] Can presiding officers be elected at the reporting membership meeting?

[Answer] It is not necessary to elect the presidium at the reporting membership meeting. The presidium should consist of the secretary, the president chairing the membership meeting, and the representative of the higher party organ. Since the minutes of the membership meeting have to be kept, a secretary has to be elected.

[Question] Who does the nominating committee have the responsibility to report to?

[Answer] To the guiding party organ and the membership meeting but not to the leaders of the base organization.

[Question] How are the self-evaluation of the leadership and the opinion of the higher party organ coordinated?

[Answer] This is the issue during the debate of the membership meeting. The membership has the right to take even a third opinion.

[Question] Does a combined membership meeting have to produce a resolution?

[Answer] Yes, in a manner similar to that of the base organization membership meeting.

10,101
CSO: 2500

SZYDLAK SEEN MANEUVERING FOR GIEREK SUCCESSION

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 15 Dec 79 p 4

[Article by Artur Kowalski]

[Text] To say that we are nearing the end of the Gierek government is an exaggeration, but it is beyond dispute that the regime is not in an enviable position. The end of the 70's, which concludes the second decade of power, ensues in an atmosphere of hangover at highest party levels. PZPR leaders admit that the barometer does not forecast better weather in the nearest future. Market conditions, which are consistently disastrous, and get worse and worse. Production is insufficient. The economy is in turmoil at every turn. The hunger for foreign exchange currency continues. The country is mired in debt.

For the first time in recent years it happened that, during a plenary session of the Central Committee, the subject of which was the announced Convention, an authentic miner, co-opted for this body for purely ornamental purposes, took the occasion to state that the miners are not prepared to work beyond their capacity and cannot mine the amount of coal that party leaders demand for the realization of their plans for the 80's. The secretary of the provincial party committee at Mokotow said in a press interview that people are complaining about the building of villas in view of the fact that thousands of citizens live in ramshackle quarters and young couples wait years for an apartment, a wait that is often futile. In the party press we read reports of complaints about the decline of buying power of the zloty, while the minority who possess dollar bank accounts buy at the Pewex stores and live in luxury. Money, and not work, is king. American money is king, not the Polish zloty, earned by the sweat of the brow of the Polish worker and peasant.

It comes as no surprise that, in the face of well-known sentiments of the public at large and the not less threatening rumblings within the party, the leaders of the PZPR feel compelled to take steps to prevent the further growth of dissatisfaction. Differences of opinion are inevitable as these comrades try to find ways to resolve the crisis situation, ways of which they have no excess. Contests of ambition, which degenerate into power struggles, are also inevitable. In a so-called socialistic democracy these things go on behind the back of society. The country does not belong to the secret circle. Recently the situation has become explosive, and despite all attempts at maintaining a facade of singlemindedness, cracks in the would-be party monolith can no longer be hidden.

Gierek's Avowals

At a meeting with miners in Sosnowiec, Gierek admitted that he has had reports that the people doubt whether he is informed of the economic situation of the country. Who announces these doubts to Gierek? Who lets him know in such an indelicate way that he is steering us in the wrong direction? Gierek did not name the people who, according to his own words, reproach him with the fact that the program contained in his guidelines "does not take into account existing conditions" and "sets difficult and unrealistic tasks for the future." These reproaches have an obvious political character, and there is no doubt that they come from quarters familiar to Gierek.

In Warsaw the current gossip is that a member of the political bureau and one of the vice-premiers known for his extraordinary personal ambitions, Jerzy Szydlak, has announced his candidacy for Gierek's position. A lengthy note of the PAP which was printed in the press on 13 November 1979 shows that these prophecies are not unfounded. From this obscure reference we learn that on 12 November there was a meeting in the Central Committee of presiding officers of the "party governance committee for improving the operation of the socio-economic system." What is the origin of this committee? Who appointed it, and when and where was it formed? There is no answer to this question. All we know is that Jerzy Szydlak headed it up and that it set before itself the task of clarifying the guidelines for the Convention.

The Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship--A Springboard

In recent years Jerzy Szydlak was withdrawn from the captain's deck of the party under rather puzzling circumstances and he was placed at the sidelines of the half-dozen vice-premiers. He did not distinguish himself in this position in any particular way. His primary activity was chairing the unsacrosanct little office at the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, in which he spared no efforts to demonstrate his most burning friendship with actives, especially superiors. Admittedly, the "improvement of the operation of the socio-economic system" does not occur in the management of the Society, but its leaders have taken advantage of the pre-convention period and the bad luck of Edward Gierek, beset as he is with difficulties, once again to play the game of secretly rivalling in the first secretary, a game it has been playing for many years.

The Head of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship Has a Background

What Szydlak calls the "operation of the socio-economic system" really does beg for improvement. The whole socio-economic system is in need of improvement, repairs, or rather a complete overhaul introduced by PZPR on the model and in the image of the Soviet system. Clearly, however, such is not the intention of Jerzy Szydlak. Like Gierek, he accepts the ruling system in total just as it is. He merely wants to crystallize a plan of action for the 80's. Did he, however, recognize the plan contained in the guidelines as compatible with his convictions? There's the rub.

Crystallizing the guidelines for the 1980's without taking into account their effective value would not have aroused any suspicions if Szydlak had not ordered his committee to work at such a tempo as to insure that its recommendations could be presented to the political bureau before the Convention got underway. This haste indicates that Szydlak is concerned not so much with crystallizing the guidelines as he is with altering their contents and tone. "Crystallization of the guidelines" could follow resolutely upon their acceptance by the Convention, but changes in them then would not be possible. Clearly, Gierek does not wish this on himself, since he apparently envisions the guidelines as his new life's work. It is an open quarrel.

What differences split the adversaries? They are listed in two points taken up in the PAP note about the Szydlak committee. They are worded differently than Gierek's guidelines and this is not completely without significance, in spite of the fact that both sides prostrate themselves before the same gods and bandy about the same slogan that has become popular among them about the necessity of "increasing the efficiency of the social economy."

A Higher Place for Whom?

Edward Gierek, referring to the guidelines, noted that in the realization of the tasks of the coming decade he is moving toward "undertaking tasks aimed at strengthening the levels of central planning." At the same time he added that, in his opinion, "the time is ripe for granting economic and local organizations greater autonomy." In a press account of the Szydlak committee meeting mention is also made of "strengthening the role of central planning in directing the economy" as well as of "improving organizational structures and the economic-financial system of economic and local units." Szydlak, however, says not one word about granting greater autonomy to particular central or local institutions. The difference is clear. Reflected in this difference is the old battle between the adherents of decentralization and the adherents of dogmatic methods of keeping the whole economy under strict central control, which does not allow for initiative and experiments of the rank and file. In this case Gierek attempts to play the role of a liberal, a role that is always applauded among many social activists. Experience, however, shows that in practice a centralized solution holds a higher place in Gierek's administration than the other method.

Curbing Our Appetites

A second bone of contention regards the problem of the living standard. The paternalistic approach of Gierek to this problem is well known. The guidelines include a long list of promises, especially regarding the most neglected classes. Just as in the past a significant majority of society does not fit into the PZPR socio-economic system of more or less neglected classes. Szydlak expounds at length on the "further improvement of the structure of production with a view to better fulfill social needs," but in a completely minor tone. Gierek promises golden mountains to the poor, but also warns that they must have much patience, because these golden hills are still

beyond the woods. Szydlak, on the other hand, decks himself out in the plumage of a great realist. He is opposed to any growth of appetites. "The structure of consumption," we read in his long press account, should consider "the organizational goals of socialism." This is supposed to sound enticing, but he immediately adds that this same "structure of consumption" should take into account "the objective possibilities of economic development." Everybody in Poland is well aware of what these objective possibilities are.

Very little separates Szydlak from Gierek. This is not a quarrel based on opposing goals. It is not a quarrel of methods. It is rather a battle of words. But even such a quarrel cannot be minimized. Words are sometimes weightier than rocks, especially when such a high position is at stake. We cannot predict the outcome of the quarrel. Both adversaries are stubborn and obstinate. If nothing else, this neverending unhomeric battle of the guidelines attests to this. The guidelines came into the world following severe labor pains. They were not published before the plenary session of the Central Committee, at which a lengthy discussion about them ensued. The Central Committee plenum officially approved these guidelines, but the word "singlemindedly" was missing, and the text was known only to a narrow secret circle. Even journalists were not informed.

Five days after the approval of the guidelines, a communique of the political bureau appeared in which the bureau announced that the guidelines did not have their "final approval." What happened with the guidelines between their approval by the Central Committee and the final approval of the political bureau remains a secret. They appeared in print 5 days later, ostensibly as a completed project ready for discussion. In the meantime, 2 weeks later the head of the Society of Polish-Soviet Friendship announced that before the Convention takes place in February, he will announce recommendations for "crystallizing the proposals of the guidelines." It seems unlikely that the contest of the guidelines will end with a knockout of one of the adversaries. Rather, the struggle will persist and become even more complex.

8536

CSO: 2600

SWEDE ARRESTED FOR SMUGGLING COPIER TO KSS 'KOR'

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 9 Jan 80 p 1

[Text] It was revealed in Warsaw freedom circles under the aegis of the Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR," that a Swedish economist has been arrested by the Security Service under the accusation of smuggling a duplicating machine for that organization.

The arrest took place on 11 December in Gdansk. Officials of the Swedish embassy in Warsaw confirmed this fact. An economist by the name of Bjoern Laqvist was the man arrested. The investigations of the Security Service in this matter are still continuing, but up to now Laqvist has only been accused of violating customs regulations.

Nevertheless, it is known that in Poland free trade in printing machines and duplicating machines is forbidden. Only state offices and institutions empowered by the authorities are allowed to make use of them and to buy them. KSS "KOR," however, uses duplicating machines to produce their samizdats, that is, newspapers and books which are not subjected to censorship.

In November of last year Sweden deported seven Polish spies to Poland. Before they were deported, they were held under arrest for 8 days in complete isolation. The deportees did not admit the truth of the accusations made against them by the Swedes.

Swedish officials in Warsaw do not think that the arrest of Laqvist has any connection with this matter.

CSO: 2600

BRIEFS

INCREASED GDYNIA MILITIA--There was a meeting in Gdynia of the City Headquarters of the Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia (ORMO) with the participation of city president Jan Krzeczowski and the commandant of the Citizens' Militia (MO) Municipal Committee, Col Stefan Bachorski. The past activities of Gdynia's ORMO were assessed and the directions of the organization's work in 1980 were discussed. Proposals aimed at the further expansion of the organization's ranks were passed. The nature of the organization enables citizens to actively participate in activities aimed at assuring law and order in Gdynia's housing settlements. The meeting offered the opportunity to present membership cards to 40 new ORMO members. They will take care of maintaining traffic safety on the streets of Gdynia. [Text] [Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 27 Dec 79 p 6]

CSO: 2600

MOTIVES BEHIND PIRVULESCU ATTACK AT CONGRESS ASSESSED

Background Examined

Bonn DIE WELT in German 26 Nov 79 p 5

[Article by Carl-Gustaf Stroebe: "Comrad. Brutus from Bucharest"]

[Text] Vienna--The unprecedented sensation which occurred on the final day of the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party has led to nervous bewilderment and to political speculations in Bucharest. As was already reported, the 84-year-old veteran communist Constantin Pirvulescu had criticized with surprising severity the style of leadership shown by the head of the party and the State, Nikolai Ceausescu. One has to go clear back to the early days of the Soviet Union, in the 1920's, to come across similarly outspoken words voiced by the opposition at a party congress.

After all, Pirvulescu is no minor functionary; otherwise he would not have gotten to the microphone at all. He was a member of the executive committee for the party congress. He sat only a few seats away from the party chief. At the same time, hitherto he was a member of the Central Auditing Commission and one of the delegates from the capital of Bucharest. If it is now maintained by official quarters that Constantin Pirvulescu is a person who has lost "contact with the party and the people," then the question naturally arises: How then did he get into the executive committee for the party congress?

The core of the Pirvulescu criticism strikes at a sore point of the system: Ceausescu, he said, places his personal interests above those of the party and the people--which is one of the most scathing of charges that one can imagine. He said that Ceausescu is governing "undemocratically." The secretary general has been the head of the party for over 10 years now, and therefore, according to Pirvulescu, it is time for a change. Pirvulescu also criticized the fact that Ceausescu had let himself be confirmed in his office as secretary general not by the Central Committee--as is fitting for a communist party leader--but by the plenum of the party congress. That is, by some 3,000 delegates. The old-line communist is said to have spoken also about a personality cult.

According to reports of eyewitnesses, there was a tremendous hubbub in the plenum during his speech. Ceausescu, who visibly paled at this unexpected incident, supposedly called on the violently reacting delegates to allow Pirvulescu to speak. It is said that at times it looked as if some of the delegates were on the point of doing violence to the speaker.

If one consults the biography of Pirvulescu, he obtains an interesting picture: He is an old "Muscovite"--a man who whiled away long years as an emigrant in the Soviet Union and who returned to Romania with the Red Army only in 1944. He belonged to the group around the Romanian old-line communist Ana Pauker, who likewise maintained close Soviet connections and therefore was removed early on by Gheorgiu-Dej, the predecessor to Ceausescu. In 1940, in the first cession of Bessarabia to the Soviet Union, Pirvulescu is said to have shown up in Kishinev as a political commissar. After the war as well, he was involved in purges in Romania. Together with other "Muscovites," he was removed later from all offices, and only a short while ago did he show up again doing party work.

In Bucharest it is now being debated whether Pirvulescu was acting on his own initiative or whether he is proceeding against Ceausescu possibly on behalf of an opposition group or perhaps even in accord with the Soviets. For a man who can be regarded as a typical apparatchik, spontaneous expressions of displeasure are scarcely likely. The criticism which he expressed about Ceausescu corresponds rather closely to that underground political agitation which has been advanced by the Soviet side against Ceausescu and his "national communist" regime for a long time now.

Even though the Romanian party newspapers are not reporting a single word about this incident--still, the 3,000 delegates will spread the news of this affair throughout the country. Thousands of functionaries are thereby becoming rattled. The Ceausescu followers above all will be asking themselves the anxious question of who then is really standing behind this old man. As for the rest, it is likely that in Romania there are plenty of people who have been antagonized by the hard domestic line and the boundless mistrust of Ceausescu.

The congress has ratified the Ceausescu line: No liberalization or relaxation of any kind, and further strong efforts to make Romania self-sufficient economically and in terms of energy. Even superficial attentions which have been paid to the Soviets do not obscure the fact that the differences with Moscow continue to exist as much as ever. But whoever wants to challenge Ceausescu's personal power must strip the party leader of his "plebiscite base" among the masses--and at the same time he must set the functionaries against this man, who continually is throwing the oligarchy into confusion and time and again humiliating it. From this point of view, Pirvulescu's speech was cleverly planned: It landed precisely on the "predetermined breaking point" of the Ceausescu line.

Soviet Question Raised

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Nov 79 p 12

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Then Suddenly the Soviet Question Was There Again"]

[Text] Bucharest--"Perhaps you too fired at the troops of the Soviet Union at that time." Such was the statement shouted back at a heckler in the hall by Constantin Pirvulescu, on the last day of the Romanian party congress, when the former tried to interrupt him during his unexpected intervention. This 84-year-old veteran communist, who earlier on sat on the executive committee of the congress as a representative of the Bucharest party section and who for a period of 4 days had silently put up with the ritual of jubilation, asked for the floor shortly before the scheduled reelection of Ceausescu to secretary general and was allowed to take the floor to deliver his personal intervention. He objected to the reelection of the party's top man, whose policy he designated as a violation of party democracy. Evidently, he took exception to its nationalist orientation. This affair, delegates to the congress said later, might have taken a nasty turn for Pirvulescu if he had not been driven off the speaker's desk and escorted home right after his initial pro-Soviet remarks. Even so, in Ceausescu's response, considerable latent material came to light: Pirvulescu, according to the party chief, has been "abroad" too long, he yearns for the time when the affairs of the party and the people were decided "elsewhere."

This was aimed at the Soviet Union. Pirvulescu, often called the "grand old man of the Romanian party," was a prominent figure in the "Soviet" era of the party. Although he took part in the railroaders' strike of Grivita in 1933, he then emigrated to the Soviet Union. He returned in 1944, and it is said that he reputedly worked for the Soviets in Bessarabia. In the post-war period, he became a member of the Politburo and of the Control Commission. He played a prominent role in the liquidation of the "nationalist communist" Patrascanu, in which indeed participated in a substantial way not only the "Muscovites" but also Gheorghiu-Dej, the predecessor to Ceausescu and author of the independence resolution of 1964. In 1960, Pirvulescu had a falling out with Gheorghiu-Dej and was removed from all party offices, under the charge of having engaged in "factional activity."

For what reason he had been accepted again at this time into the party executive committee--whether out of respect for his veteran's rank or to appease certain party groups--is not known. During the entire congress and even in Ceausescu's address, very little had turned up which would have testified to the subliminal conflict between Romania and the Soviet Union. Now, however, with Pirvulescu's intervention and Ceausescu's rejoinder, the Soviet question was suddenly again present. Everything came out which had been swept under the rug. The Romanian mass media did not report one word about the affair in their domestic services.

But the news spread like wildfire throughout the country. Ceausescu, whose curve of popularity has shown a downward trend in recent years, was able to make amends for a thing or two. The wariness with which Ceausescu treated the Soviet Union in his address probably had its cause in the fact that relations between Bucharest and Moscow had become strained a number of times in the past year. At the end of November 1978, in a meeting of the Warsaw Pact, Ceausescu refused to go along with the scheduled raising of the defense expenditure for the members of this alliance.

Last summer there was the so-called "gasoline war," when Romania demanded payment in hard currency from Eastern Bloc residents for the purchase of gasoline and diesel oil. It can be heard in Bucharest that this abruptly taken measure was directly connected with a just as abrupt refusal of the Soviets to supply petroleum to Romania. In September, talks were held, and thereupon 350,000 tons of oil from a Soviet delivery originally destined for Yugoslavia were rerouted to Romania for the first time, within the framework of a triangular deal. Now there is talk of Soviet deliveries for the next year, although only in exchange for hard foreign currencies and at OPEC prices.

It would be best for whoever wants to find out for certain about the basic sentiments of the Romanians toward their "big brother" to go out into the regions near the border--to Iasi, the old capital of Moldavia, for example. This city, which played the primary role in 1859 in the unification process of the Romanian principalities, and which can be looked upon as the center of the Romanian cultural and national renaissance east of the Carpathians during the first half of the 19th century, now lies only 20 kilometers away from the Soviet border. Here, it is most readily explained to the visitor that Bessarabia was never a separate historical unit, but simply a part of Moldavia. It is said that in 1812, when the Russian czar demanded its cession from the Turks, the name Bessarabia, which for the most part referred to another region originally, had been applied to the whole area between the Prut and the Dniester rivers.

Following World War I, Bessarabia reverted to Romania. Meanwhile, in 1924, the Soviets founded a "Moldavian Republic" for the first time, east of the Dniester in the so-called "Transdnistria." Following World War II, when they again took possession of Bessarabia, they shifted the now so-called "Moldavian Soviet Republic" in that direction. The fact that in both cases the Soviets drew on the name of Moldavia for this area is explained in Iasi as showing that sooner or later they probably would want to derive claims from this on all of Moldavia, clear to the Carpathians. There is a deadly fear of that happening. According to what one hears from informed interlocutors in Iasi, Soviet historiography has propounded the thesis--with the historian Lazaravici, who works in Kishinev, as its leading exponent--of an autonomous "Moldavian people" who also reside in that part of Moldavia still in Romania.

It is said that the theory of Lazarevic disputes the view of the emergence of the Romanian people from out of the association of Dacians and Romans. It supposedly recognizes only Dacians and Slavs, and labels even the Dacians themselves as Slavs. It is said that an attempt has been made in Kishinev to alter the Romanian spoken there into a special "Moldavian language." To be sure, so say our interlocutors, it can be gathered from listening in on Radio Kishinev that these attempts have not been very successful. But one cannot tell as yet whether or not this means that such attempts will be abandoned.

The metropolitan of Iasi, traditionally the second-highest orthodox spiritual dignitary in the country following the patriarch of Bucharest, adds the comment that in Chernovtsy, the capital of Bukovina, which was likewise occupied by the Soviets in 1940, there sits today a Russian archbishop, and in Kishinev a Russian bishop, whereas three church dignitaries who speak Romanian and who come from Bessarabia have had to officiate in Smolensk, Kharkov, and even Siberia. "In these places, they will have little opportunity to practice their Romanian," says the metropolitan sarcastically.

Among those who set up the "Moldavian Republic" for the first time in 1924 and who openly supported the Soviet aspirations to all of Moldavia were many Romanian communists, in some cases of Jewish nationality, who had fled from Romania. Of these communists, later a number of them died in the Soviet Union. Others returned to Romania and subsequently furnished the main element of the pro-Soviet and Stalinist leadership in Bucharest. It is from this circle that Pirvulescu comes as well, at least in terms of general characteristics. It is not known whether he was encouraged directly by the Soviets to make his intervention. Many observers in Bucharest consider this to be possible. In any event, his case shows that among the Romanian communists there are still people of a certain standing who do not take for granted Ceausescu's authority to lead. From a formal point of view--that is, in terms of the statutory admissibility of many of the procedures at the last party congress--certain arguments which Pirvulescu advanced do sound convincing. The politics of personal power practiced by Ceausescu, who has placed in the higher party organs four other family members, with his wife, brother, son, and brother-in-law, is vulnerable to attack from various directions.

Party Career Traced

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Dec 79 pp 160-161

[Article: "Sword of the Revolution"]

[Text] What does the attack mean of the Romanian party veteran Pirvulescu on his former pupil Ceausescu?

The shot fired on-stage was not in the program, but the stage-director himself had provoked it.

A few hours before the close of the Twelfth Party Congress of the Romanian Communist Party on Friday before last, at a sign from party leader Ceausescu a speaker was allowed after all to approach the microphone--a person whose requests to have the floor had been studiously ignored up to then by the chairmanship of the meeting.

But what the party veteran Constantin Pirvulescu, 84 years old, then had to say to the 2,664 delegates were some truths no one has dared to talk about hitherto in the history of the Eastern Bloc:

Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu--who was standing for reelection--has strangled, he said, all inner-party democracy and has placed his personal interests above those of the State. The time has finally come to vote out of office the number-one comrade, whom his well-organized clique had lionized during his activity report as much as 27 times with chants such as "paragon of wisdom" and "Ceausescu and the people."

The astonishment in the hall over this incredible event was initially so great that the old rebel was able in any case to speak for a number of minutes before he was interrupted by a furious roar: "Down with the fraction!"

His face flushed with anger and with nervous gestures, Ceausescu thereupon personally undertook to settle the score: He said that the old man is a "provocateur," about whom it is not known "on whose orders he speaks." Friends of Ceausescu hastened to the side of the party leader: Pirvulescu is "blind to reality," and moreover this comrade had previously lost his party posts back in 1960 "because of incompetence and involvement in plots."

It was later declared to Western camera crews which were able to film the eerie scenario, as well as to foreign journalists, that the old man was well known from past experience to be a friend of the Soviets, and moreover he was also a senile grumbler. Why then he had been chosen to be a delegate to the party congress, and even elected to be a member of the congress executive committee, was a question which the spokesmen for the official line indeed could not clarify.

Because: However unclear the motives for his philippic against Ceausescu may have continued to be--Pirvulescu, who lives in the well-guarded Bucharest functionary's quarter, has been unavailable to everybody since the party congress--his unruliness is certainly not as insignificant as the party makes it out after the fact.

After all, Constantin Pirvulescu helped to found the Romanian Communist Party in 1921. Together with the railroad worker and later party chief, Gheorghiu-Dej, he was put in prison in 1934 because of a wildcat strike, from which he was released 4 years later, whereupon he managed to flee to the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, the young comrade was trained to be a political commissar, and for a short time he was the director of a collective farm before returning to Romania on the orders of the Soviets in the spring of 1944, where he prepared the insurrection of the illegal Communist Party against the fascist regime of Antonescu, an ally of Hitler. Together with two veteran comrades, who meanwhile have died, Pirvulescu was the leader of the party in the underground until August 1944.

After the Red Army had marched in, this resistance fighter even had great prospects of becoming the Romanian party leader, but to Stalin this comrade, who had been branded as an "idealist," was too nationalistic. The better adjusted Gheorghiu-Dej, his chum from prison times, became the top man.

Pirvulescu, a member of the Politburo and for a time also the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, styled himself the "sword of the revolution"--and conducted himself accordingly: For 15 years, he remained at the head of the notorious Control Commission as the supreme party inquisitor.

He had Minister of Justice Patrascanu executed as an alleged "Titoist," and he purged the party of all "Western spies" and "nationalists" and finally also of its "Moscow wing": He compiled the indictment against the feared top-ranking comrade, Ana Pauker, whom he charged, among other things, with having shot her own husband during her Moscow exile and with having smuggled money into Switzerland.

When after Stalin's death the Stalinist Gheorghiu-Dej also fell into the line of fire of de-Stalinization, the Stalinist Pirvulescu saved him by means of a substitute sacrifice: Miron Constantinescu, the second-ranking man in the party, was toppled--and in his place stepped the young functionary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Under the protection of the grand inquisitor, this person had been able to give a good account of himself as the major political worker during the purging of the army. In 1960, he on his part saw to it that the old-line Stalinist, who had been responsible for so many death sentences, did not have to make his exit from the political stage: Pirvulescu became chief of the Party Auditing Commission.

It was a clever move by the tactician Ceausescu, who also assumed the highest office of the party from the deceased Gheorghiu-Dej 5 years later: As the uppermost financial examiner and auditor in the party apparatus, his old mentor, who had become superfluous, was no longer permitted to belong to the Central Committee and thus also no longer to the Politburo.

The old veteran remained in this commission, which sees itself also as the guardian over party morality, up to his entry on the scene the week

before last. It was not the first time that he has warned against the danger that the party was losing "direct contact with the people" and that more and more were opportunists throwing their weight around in the party.

Thus, the consequences of the criticism by the old-line comrade cannot be foreseen as yet: It is certain that he is not the only one in the Romanian communist party who is repelled by the byzantine personality cult of the party leader.

The majority of the people, who learned of the incident only from Western radio broadcasts, is in any case on the side of the rebel on this question: In allusion to the fairy tale, the whispered wisecrack is circulating in Bucharest that "for the first time, the emperor is seen to have no clothes."

12114

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN PRESS REPORTS CHURCH-STATE DISPUTES IN SLOVENIA

Bonn DIE WELT in German 3 Jan 80 p 4

[Article by Carl Gustaf Stroehm, Vienna]

[Excerpt] The Yugoslav state police shortly before Christmas carried out house searches and interrogations among Catholic clergy and intellectuals in Slovenia. It is known from Ljubljana that those affected are especially persons who have been active in Catholic journalism. The Slovenian communists consider especially the Catholic theological faculty and the editorial board of DRUZINA, the church paper published in Ljubljana, as centers of opposition.

The young Catholic theologian Kriznik said at a meeting of students and intellectuals in Ljubljana: "A system that is atheistic leads to the Gulag Archipelago and its branches." At this meeting it was openly said that listening devices had been found in the summer villa of Jozse Pogacnik, Archbishop of Ljubljana. A participant said: "The authorities can be happy that the archbishop did not make an international affair of it."

On 27 November there was a get-together at the Ljubljana theological faculty for the Yugoslav National Day at which Stane Gerjol, Catholic clergyman and chairman of the Association of Slovenian Theologians, declared that one cannot identify one's home and fatherland with a particular regime. The homeland is larger and deeper than a political system.

There was strong reaction in the Communist Party leadership to a special supplement in DRUZINA in which leading Catholic laymen and theologians openly opposed Marxism and especially compulsory atheistic school instruction. It was said: "The atheistic indoctrination in our schools violates the basic human rights of religious parents." Since compulsory schooling exists in the state and school instruction is atheistic, parents, the paper said, are not in a position to protect their children from becoming atheists.

[It said], "Without doubt the LCY has the right to make the atheistic education of children available to parents who wish, but to make the schools atheistic for... the entire society, for believers and non-believers means doing violence to believers." How can the schools train children in tolerance and equality, DRUZINA asks, when a teacher does not even dare to admit to his students that he is a believer?

The Catholic Slovenian paper often appeals to the Communists in power: "Those in positions of responsibility in our society must be clear about the consequences which follow from ideological totalitarianism especially in schools." No humane socialist society can be attained with such totalitarianism: "Ideological totalitarianism distorts the personality of a pupil and forces him to be dishonest..."

A dispute is said to have arisen between Stane Koman, head of the commission on religion in the Slovenian assembly, and Professor Stefan Steiner, dean of the Ljubljana theological faculty. The communist functionary pointed to forces at the theological faculty which want to undermine the state. The Catholic dean replied that the state is really undermined by degrading Christians to second-class citizens. Archbishop Pogacnik at a meeting of the coordinating body on church-state relations protested against the constant "insults and annoyances" to which Christians in Slovenia are subjected.

CSO: 2300

MOSLEM OFFICIALS RESIGN, COMMISSION FORMED TO INVESTIGATE 'PREPOROD' STAFF

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 79 p 7

[Excerpts] The day before yesterday Seid Maglajlija, president of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Bosnia-Hercegovina, received the delegation of the Association of the Islamic Elders of Bosnia-Hercegovina headed by the acting president, Husein Mujic.

In the talks there were discussions of current questions and problems, which at this moment the Association of the Islamic Elders is encountering, especially in connection with the activity of the editorial staff of PREPOROD newspaper.

It was pointed out in the talks that the Executive Board of the Association of the Islamic Elders has looked into some questions on the method of work of the Association from the position of the development of collective work and responsibility, and of philosophy and the status of PREPOROD and it judged that it was indispensable to overcome the difficulties, which have appeared lately, by means of the organized action of the Association itself. The representatives of the Association pointed out that they have the full support of the majority of the members and that the members of the Association will be fully informed about all the questions at the meeting which will be organized in January of next year by subcommittees of the Association.

The representatives of the Association of the Islamic Elders also informed Seid Maglajlija about the fact that the Executive Board of the Association accepted at the last meeting the resignations submitted by Husein Djozo from his duty as president of the Association of the Islamic Elders and from his duty as a responsible editor of PREPOROD and by Hilmo Neimarlija from his duty as chief editor of PREPOROD and that it formed a special commission to investigate the situation in the editorial office of PREPOROD, its philosophy and status, and to propose a way for solving these questions.

In the talks there was also mention of some tasks in connection with the marking of the 30th anniversary of the existence and the activity of the Association of the Islamic Elders in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

PROBLEMS OF LOCATING MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL AIRED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1489, 22 Jul 79
pp 5-7

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic]

[Text] The Economic Chamber conducted a survey among 530 basic organizations of associated labor, and one of the questions pertained to the "management crisis." In conjunction with it, over 13,000 management and professional workers were interviewed. In the answers which were gathered, there were 10 most frequently cited reasons for the creation and continuation of the "management crisis." The reasons are listed below:

1. Great responsibility and little authority.
2. Insufficient training of personnel for the new, transformed role of the manager in associated labor.
3. Inappropriate remuneration for the demanding and responsible work of managers. The lack of social and other recognition for the successful performance of managerial functions was particularly emphasized.
4. The insufficiently defined and unresolved status of the manager in associated labor.
5. The lack of social concern and poor cadre policy in the preparation and training of managers for managerial and other responsible duties in organizations of associated labor.
6. Overemphasizing of negative manifestations and individuals in managerial positions and the identification with function.
7. Incorrect understanding of the role and significance of the managerial functions in organizations of associated labor, beginning with the emphasis on the doubts as to the validity of managers in associated labor and the self-managing system, and ending with those who still insist on the director's "firm hand."
8. When satisfactory results and successes are achieved, they are credited to the collective, and the role of the managerial and professional, creative

forces is played down; the reverse is also true when losses or unsatisfactory results appear, which are predominantly blamed on the managers.

9. The devaluation of the managerial function in society and the insecurity of workers in managerial jobs.

10. The intensification of demands placed on managers and poor interpersonal relationships. The workers in managerial jobs then become powerless and, occasionally, subjected to disrespect and persecution by individuals and informal groups.

Is there a sufficient number of capable people and how interested are the workers in associated labor in performing managerial functions? Or, to put it even more concretely: Is the Yugoslav economy undergoing a crisis in the managerial field? There is almost no serious meeting of economists in which this question is not posed. While seeking an answer, in his book "The Manager in Self-Management," Ivan Stambolic quotes a report by the Federal Institute for Statistics: "...Still, few people respond to competitive selection announcements for directors of organizations of associated labor. An average of a little more than one candidate competed for each director's position..." (the newest data indicate that approximately 20 percent of all directors' positions are vacant!).

"In the consciousness of the managerial organs, the fear that they are the carriers of resistance is becoming increasingly pronounced, and the fear of the consequences of failure is also great. Tens of regulations in numerous laws make the managers exclusively responsible, particularly the director general. Thus, the conviction that it is dangerous to be such a manager nowadays is being fostered. A reluctance to accept functions which entail elements of risk is being manifested. This is dangerous for the business of the work organization and its development."

These are the words of the former president of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, Peter Kostic, who is now the Federal Secretary for Finance.

Are all these things the harbingers of a crisis, or are its roots even deeper? Why should not a young, capable, ambitious man with a college degree not wish to become director? Is it that it is difficult to become a director, or is it even more difficult to remain in such a position, buffeted by all sorts of winds? What is the price of the prestige offered by the director's armchair? How does one become director in our self-managing society?

All those with whom we talked in the past month agreed that the pressures and forcing of individual candidates are frequently of greater significance than social influence. It is absolutely necessary to select the most competent professional for a managerial function, one whose self-managing, professional and human worth has been proven in practice. Such a

candidate is one of the guarantees that the business and development of the organization of associated labor will be based on a new self-managing socioeconomic relationship. Unfortunately, the qualities in question are not gained at birth nor are they built spontaneously. It is necessary to prepare and select people for managerial functions in an organized manner.

The Slovenian Analysis

"Is it that the director's job is too unapproachable, insufficiently open to the increasingly broad circle of the new, particularly the younger, educated and capable cadres, so that, in effect, the impassability of the road to management is announced through the management crisis. It is understood that the democratic quality of the selection process is not evaluated by how many candidates applied to the competitive selection, but rather by whether it is possible for that one candidate (if there is not more than one) who will, as we are wont to say, 'justify the confidence' or 'be the right man in the right place,' to apply and be selected. One of the factors in the creation of such conditions is, undoubtedly, the director who is leaving the position. Already at the beginning of his second or third term, he can prepare a candidate from the collective who has proven himself to be the most capable and who would be easily accepted. A director can create the impression that he is irreplaceable, which already dramatizes the selection of a new man for the director's job," emphasizes Stambolic in the above book.

"Being a director is a difficult and responsible social function, because the business activity in associated labor places increased demands on the holders of these functions to possess professional and organizing qualities and to fulfill sociopolitical requirements. The failure to meet these criteria cannot be covered up by formal, hierararchical-commanding authority, nor by withholding information, nor by diminishing one's own responsibility by increasing, in an inappropriate manner, the responsibility of other self-managing, executive and sociopolitical positions.

"Where are you, managing organs? We are seeking you through competitive selections, in our own work organizations, we ask friends where we can find you, but you are nowhere to be found so that we can offer you the most responsible jobs."

This is a quote from a Ljubljana newspaper which states very picturesquely the lack of candidates for directors' jobs in Slovenia.

Our Ljubljana correspondent, Relja Atanasijevic, advises us that it is evident that the situation in Slovenia is representative of the situation in our country. Ten percent of the directors' positions are vacant in Ljubljana alone, and they are filled by temporary executives. The republicwide average, on the other hand, is considerably greater. It is not known at the present time, but it has been announced that this information, along with concrete data on the vacant directors' positions

in economic and noneconomic activities, will be prepared by the end of the year. It is awaited by the Central Committee of Slovenia, who is the initiator of the action to have this cadre problem resolved as soon as possible.

Judging by the reports from correspondents in republic and province centers, it may be concluded that the crisis is most pronounced in Slovenia. However, we are not convinced that we would be making a mistake if we were to draw a different conclusion from their reports: Namely, that the situation is more or less the same everywhere.

One of our most prominent economists is leaving his director's position these days. (In this text, we are also going to utilize the statements of some people who, because of certain reasons, did not wish to have their names mentioned). Many people would agree that the manager in question is one of the most successful directors that the capital has had in the past 10 years or so. When asked whether there is a crisis in the directors' cadre, he answered us with the following: "Simply stated, there is no dilemma. We can only talk about the extent of the crisis. There are several reasons why capable people have difficulty deciding to accept leading positions in the economy. It is clear to everybody that the economy is, to put it mildly, in a very delicate situation. Under such conditions it is very difficult and dangerous to be a director. Thus, I find it perfectly understandable that the competitive selections for directors are repeated several times."

The Letter of the Law

Frequently, the competitive selections are just formalities, with the candidates selected beforehand and brought forward by certain structures," said Prof Jova Brekic, the scientific advisor and manager of the Center for Cadrology and Managing Organs of the Economic Institute in Zagreb to our collaborator Mladen Maloca. "It is a question of informal groups which, unfortunately, have influence in the selection of the most responsible cadres. This is the reason there is no competition. It is also not insignificant that most directors are recruited from the sociopolitical structures. This also points to the fact that the channels leading to the directors' positions are, to a certain extent, closed."

This assertion from Zagreb merits special attention. First, it must be asserted that it has no regional quality. The manipulations of cadre politics are of particular concern because they are frequently reduced to somebody's private, informal list. It is interesting to note what is written in the law regarding the method of selecting a director. In order to limit the influence that one side has over another, the deciding committee has an equal number of representatives from the work (at least one line dropped from the original text) as well as the sociopolitical structures. The example dealing with the selection of the director of the textile factory MAKEDONKA in Stip is typical and not at all unique. According to Srbojub Rakic, the director was selected only as a result

of the third competitive selection. "Certain other things entered the background of the case, but they are not willingly discussed."

An interlocutor from the Economic Chamber of Macedonia who did not wish to have his name mentioned states: "The competitive selections are frequently meaningless these days. The candidate has been selected before the competitive selection has been announced. You and I alone make up the list of names. Consequently, it is understandable that only one candidate applies to the competitive selection. His experience and abilities may not correspond to the needs of the collective, but he has outside support which is sufficient in most cases. There are no opposing candidates. Why should anyone apply with the foreknowledge that he will not be selected?"

"Many consider it a privilege to be a director. Usually, power, trips abroad, a Mercedes automobile and [imported] whiskey.... Only naive ones can believe this. To be a director means to work an average of 10 hours a day and not having any time for the family," told us Tomislav Stanic, director of VINO-ZUPA from Aleksandrovac. "If the situation in the enterprise is a good one, it is due to all of us. I have nothing against this because, after all, this is the truth. What bothers me is that the director is the only culprit when things take a turn for the worse. Then, those who patted you on the back and made decisions on an equal basis are nowhere to be found. This is one of the fundamental reasons why the number of younger, capable men wishing to be directors is growing smaller.

The Soldier in the Economy

According to the letter of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, the sociopolitical organizations have a right and an obligation to influence the selection of directors in complex work organizations. This could be taken to mean that the basic organizations of associated labor are exempt from this. There is also a supplement to this regulation. The community is under an obligation to influence the selection of the directors in the basic organizations of associated labor, but this pertains only to those which have a broader social significance. "The legal regulations should, by all means, be taken into account," is the view of Nedeljko Radakobic, vice president of the Economic Chamber of Belgrade and president of the Cadre Council. "Each opstina has a cadre commission and the city avoids becoming involved in their jurisdictions. However, to be truthful, when it is a question of a work organization whose importance transcends the boundaries of the opstina, and frequently even those of the city, not only the city but the republic itself is consulted. We try to accommodate the wishes of both parties. Still, I am of the opinion that the best directors are those who have come from the work organizations. The old director was a good one if, among other things, he had been able to prepare a good successor for himself on time. Unfortunately, this seldom happens."

The director of a confectionary firm from Southern Serbia found himself in the halls of the directorate of a Belgrade bank. He begged the bankers to give him the money, and he kept saying that this was impossible, that he was on the list of their investors and that the money was in the revolving account. He complained that he spent 4 days in Belgrade at his own expense and that he could not go back without the money. They said they understood him, but they kept making jokes behind his back.

This is another from the numerous responsibilities that a director must discharge.

"The role of the director is interpreted in different ways," maintains Dragan Zlarevskin, director of the Skopje brewery. "If I personally had to choose between the director's position and something else, I would prefer to take on a clerical function in a noneconomic organization. I am still a soldier in the economy. The society proclaims you to be such and sends you where you are needed, without mercy." When things go well, you are praised, usually privately. Should it go badly, you are left alone."

A year or so ago we were present at a discussion in the assembly of Loznica Opstina. The city functionaries were trying to convince one of the young and capable VISKOZA engineers to accept the director's job. He told them that he had read in a newspaper an advertisement in which a new director is offered, among other things, a large apartment, a sizeable income and good interpersonal relationships. "I believe that you will give me everything except the good interpersonal relationships. A house which has money difficulties cannot have good interpersonal relationships." He did not accept the director's position. When we talked to him later, he told us that he had invented the story of the advertisement, but not the detail regarding the interpersonal relationships. "I am an engineer and that is what I wish to be," he added. "The difference between my income and that of a director is not great enough for me to accept the position. In the final analysis, a man lives in order to have friends, not to make enemies. Nowadays, to be a director means having too many enemies. I do not wish to have that happen to me."

The Inevitability of Reorientation

Dobrivoje Lapcevic, Marko Zeravica and Nikola Gakovic are not from Niksic, but their names are mentioned quite frequently in that city. They were directors of the three largest work organizations when Niksic did not have its own cadre. According to the general consensus, Niksic chose its direction of development well, and the directors in question are largely responsible for it. Consequently, there is no festival at which they are not the most welcome guests, even though they no longer live there. This is merely an interesting story, and we are reporting it as such.

"We were told by a large number of interlocutors, well known economists and sociopolitical workers, that the crisis of the management cadre in the economy of Montenegro has been brought about by a lack of sufficient competitiveness," reports our collaborator Ljubomir Djikanovic. "Before the competitive selections are announced, which is done for the sake of formality, the candidate is already selected." Engineer Petar Djuranovic, director general of LOVCEN INVEST also thinks there is not enough competition, but, according to him, the reasons are somewhat different. He maintains that the young professionals do not wish to be directors, and when they do accept such a position, they have been forced into it.

Thirty years ago, the director was sent from above, as it were. Representing higher authority, he himself constituted authority. The times have changed completely, and, as a consequence, the system of management in economy has been changed and improved. Self-management has taken over the role of the state. "A director who is among equals not in a management but in a professional capacity has replaced the lone director at the top of the hierarchical pyramid, who is alone and all powerful. While one form of director ship favored the growth of the technocratic methods of organization and management and thus threatened the development of socialist self-management, the other, newer form brings something new; the role of management as a function of the new social relationships." This is a quote from a NIN text of 3 years ago and nothing needs to be added to it. The reorientation is evident and above all, inevitable. The only question is: Are we conducting it in the right way?

9110

CSO: 2800

HISTORIANS, SOCIOLOGISTS DISCUSS SERBIAN NATIONALISM

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 79 p 34

[Account by Momcilo Stojanovic of a discussion in the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia concerning a study by Dr Miroslav Djordjevic entitled "The Serbian Nation in Bourgeois Society": "A Showdown With a Reactionary Tradition"]

[Text] At the beginning of this week an interesting discussion was held in the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia concerning the book "Srpska nacija u gradjanskom drustvu" [The Serbian Nation in Bourgeois Society] by Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, professor at the School of Political Science of Belgrade University, which was published by Narodna Kniga and the Marxist Center. This was an inspiring talk about an important issue especially since, as was concluded, this problem has been approached for a number of years under the burden of a traditionalistic view of the ethnic community, and it was also necessary to stand in opposition to dogmatism of both the right and the left.

In this discussion of the Serbian nation, which was conducted concerning the study by Professor Djordjevic, the participants included well-known Belgrade historians and sociologists Dr Milenko Markovic, Dr Prvoslav Ralic, Dr Zivko Sucurlija, Dr Slavko Vukomanovic, Dr Andrej Mitrovic, Dr Mirko Mirkovic and Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, as well as Dr Rudi Rizman of Ljubljana and Hajrudin Hodza of Pristina.

We should say at the outset that Professor Djordjevic's book was judged to be a very important contribution because of its scholarly Marxist approach to the Serbian nationality question. The book actually was written in response to similar discussions of the Serbian nation in the same place, at the podium of the Marxist Center of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia. The book is therefore regarded as the first, but an important, step toward further study of this sensitive subject, the nationality question. Especially since Doctor Djordjevic's study stops at the threshold of World War I and since the period that followed, in which the Yugoslav community of nationalities was created, is exceedingly interesting

both from the standpoint of the writing of history and the present moment in our self-managed socialist community of nationalities and ethnic minorities.

Metropolitan National Centralism

"The reasons for studying the origin and development of the Serbian nation," Dr Prvoslav Ralic, director of the Marxist Center, believes, "go hand in hand with the requirement of presenting all the constructive facts of that history, all the cultural and historical values of the Serbian nation, but also with the demand to renew a current, not historical, settlement of accounts with that reactionary tradition which holds that the Serbian working class is only an anonymous mass which must bow before the almighty rulers of the nation. And with the requirement of exposing the roots of Great Serbian unitarianism and the unhistorical autarkic romantic idea of national self-sufficiency. With the demand that the liberative and revolutionary tradition of the Serbian people, its cultural and historical values, come into a still more creative encounter with the cultures and history of Yugoslavia's other nationalities and ethnic minorities. And with a demand as to why a member of the Serbian nation, with his national and cultural self-awareness, does not embody everything that is valuable and progressive in Serbian history. That which is unpleasant in Serbian history, namely the enslavement of the Serbian people itself and other peoples, must be made public just as a high value must be put on those ideas and writings in Serbian history (such as the thought of Svetozar Markovic, which has been rightly reevaluated by the author of the book Professor Djordjevic) which constitute a lasting foundation for a higher historical and cultural consciousness, and effective bridge for the contemporary content of relations among the nationalities and ethnic communities in Yugoslavia.

"Parallel to this research," Ralic continued, "practical answers must also be prepared to certain questions: How to overcome the ecclesiastic and petit bourgeois pattern of the national consciousness rooted in our education and upbringing, What should be done so that the Serbian nation today makes a practical contribution to the cultural and historical cohesion of our nationalities and other ethnic groups, How to overcome the provincial-religious and national autarky and metropolitan national centralism, and How to extract the last roots of the national leaderism, especially that which is nourished and defended on a regional basis. In fact," Ralic concludes, "we are talking about how to make a frontal attack on that average nationalistic consciousness by our very way of life and educative efforts as revolutionaries, and to prevent its reproduction within the new social relations."

In the opinion of Dr Sucurlija what is particularly important in the book "Srpska nacija u gradjanskom drustvu" is the "examination of the history of the birth and development of the nation as a historical contradiction in itself, the examination of the national history as a history of the people and the history of class struggles, by contrast with the interpretation of history as a history of dynasties, as a history of the state. After all our historiography, especially the bourgeois writing of history, largely

identified the history of the Serbian people and the history of the Serbian nation with the history of government institutions."

Sucurlija also put the question of how much research is being done on the history of other nationalities and ethnic groups in our country and what is the possibility of unifying that research?

History on the March

Doctor Djordjevic's book sees things on the march, in process, in the course of history, and that is its particular value, Dr Slavko Vukomanovic feels. "He refuses to see establishment of the Serbian nation exclusively as an ethnic phenomenon or only as a political phenomenon having to do with the formation of a state, but he sets them in mutual logical relations, giving primacy to the political and to the social component."

Vukomanovic deems it particularly important because "those who have entered into the medieval myth held by the Serbs, the Serbian states and rulers concerning orthodoxy, concerning the spirit of Saint Sava, have thought, often unconsciously, a genesis of the ethnic phenomenon, and then later this was identified to a great extent with the national phenomenon." In that respect he sees the book as a settlement of accounts with any such conception and vision of Serbian history and the Serbian past.

Following the idea of the integrity of nationalities on a European scale, Dr Andrej Mitrovic said that at the same time the national state figures as a factor functioning to overcome social struggles and that it steadily becomes stronger up until the fascist regimes, and he goes on: "For the science of history, the state begins to figure as a protagonist and is indeed the principal protagonist of history in the twentieth century because it has become steadily stronger, but not as an objective reality, but as a value which should be worshiped, and an ideological coherence comes about between the right-wing ideological arsenal in its opposition to the entire democratic movement, that is, not only the working class movement, but also the working class movement, and not only the Marxist working class movement, but above all the Marxist movement."

The Orthodox Church as "Protector of the Ethnic Community"

Dr Hajrudin Hodza feels that Marxist study of the Serbian nation is of great importance, above all because this is the most numerous ethnic community in Yugoslavia, and, according to Lenin, the more numerous and larger ethnic communities have also a greater responsibility to the cause of community. And then also because in the Serbian nation, aside from those values and riches of which the Serbian people can be proud, there are certain burdens or ballast which the Serbian people must free itself of to be able to play that role which it has today in the concrete history of the present day. The term "ballast" applies particularly to nationalism in the Serbian nation, which does exist today. It is manifested in an offensive and aggressive form which would like to equate the Serbian people with unitarianism

so as to be able to acquire privileges and hegemony in a unitaristic community. The failure of this approach is, however, giving rise to a skepticism as to what will happen to the Serbian nation when it is reduced to merely the "Belgrade pashalic," what will happen to the Montenegrins, where do they belong, what about the Serbs in Bosnia, in Croatia, in Kosovo? Those forces wish to close off the prospects of the Serbian people. Hodra states that even today there is a hegemonistic orientation in the Serbian nation and even in certain members of the party. Going on to state that the Serbian Orthodox Church has had a constructive influence toward affirming and developing the Serbian nation, he added that even today, however, the Orthodox Church, which is especially felt in Kosovo, wants to portray itself as the greatest fighter for the interests of the Serbian people.

The author of the study of the Serbian nation in bourgeois society himself, Doctor Djordjevic, responding to the many flattering opinions of his book and to certain critical remarks, concluded that his study was "terribly incomplete," that in his search for material he had encountered "great vacuums, not because the Serbian people have not had a political life, but because bourgeois censorship erased much of it. The fact that nothing has been done on the study of the nationality question over the past 3 decades means that there is resistance. The real job of the historians, then, still awaits them."

7045

CSO: 2800

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

29 Jan 80

Jones
P.J.